

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 822
INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL BOMBAY
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA
AMCONSUL MADRAS
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 NEW DELHI 1254

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IN
SUBJECT: INDIAN ELECTIONS: STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE
CONTENDING PARTIES

SUMMARY: MRS. GANDHI'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF A "SNAP POLL" ON
JANUARY 18 CAUGHT BOTH THE OPPOSITION AND HER OWN PARTYMENT
OFF GUARD; THEY ARE ONLY NOW BEGINNING TO SORT OUT THEIR
ELECTORAL PLANS AND STRATEGIES. CAMPAIGN ISSUES WILL BE
RELATIVELY CLEAR-CUT: THE CONGRESS WILL POINT TO THE GAINS
ACHIEVED UNDER THE EMERGENCY, WHILE THE OPPOSITION WILL
EMPHASIZE MRS. GANDHI'S
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"MURDER OF DEMOCRACY" (TO QUOTE
J.P. NARAYAN'S PHRASE). UNDERLYING THESE RATIONAL ISSUES,
HOWEVER, WILL BE THE TRADITIONAL FACTORS OPERATIVE IN
PREVIOUS INDIAN ELECTIONS: COMMUNAL AND CASTE PRESSURES,
THE IMPACT UPON KEY VOTING BLOCS OF CERTAIN GOVERNMENT
POLICIES, AND THE USUAL FACTIONAL INFIGHTING WITHIN BOTH
THE CONGRESS AND THE OPPOSITION. CONGRESS ADVANTAGES ARE

MONEY, POWER, THE ABILITY TO SHIFT GOVERNMENT POLICIES WHEN NEEDED FOR POLITICAL GAINS, ACCESS TO THE BUREAUCRACY, AND CONTROL OF THE LEVERS OF PATRONAGE, PUBLICITY AND INTIMIDATION WHICH HAVE BEEN PRESENT IN PAST POLLS BUT ARE PROBABLY MAGNIFIED BY THE EMERGENCY. HOWEVER, THE CONGRESS SUFFERS FROM HAVING BEEN THE PARTY IN POWER FOR MANY YEARS AND CAN BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR PAST GOI MISTAKES AND SHORTCOMINGS. THE OPPOSITION COULD BENEFIT FROM POPULAR DISCONTENT WITH A NUMBER OF CONGRESS POLICIES AND THE IMAGE OF FORMER DETAINEES AS "MARTYRS." THE IMAGE OF THE EMERGENCY AND THE YOUTH CONGRESS ARE UNCERTAIN ELEMENTS IN THE EQUATION. THE OPPOSITION JANATA PARTY WILL SUFFER SEVERELY FROM LACK OF FUNDS, INADEQUATE TIME TO PREPARE AND ORGANIZE FOR THE ELECTIONS AFTER THE LONG DETENTION OF MANY LEADERS, AND ALSO ITS IMAGE AS AN ORGANIZATION OF OLD MEN. THE COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE UNLIKELY TO BE A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN THE ELECTIONS EXCEPT POSSIBLY IN WEST BENGAL AND KERALA, AND THE NEW LOK SABHA MAY HAVE A SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED COMMUNIST REPRESENTATION. A MAJOR IMPONDERABLE FACTOR AT THIS POINT IS HOW FAR THE PRESS AND THE OPPOSITION WILL BE ALLOWED TO GO IN ATTACKING THE POLICIES OF THE RULING PARTY UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF A "RELAXED" BUT STILL OPERATIVE EMERGENCY. AT THIS POINT WE DOUBT WHETHER FOREIGN POLICY WILL PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THE ELECTIONS, ALTHOUGH PAKISTAN MAY FIGURE IN WESTERN BORDER AREAS AS IT HAS IN THE PAST, FARAKKA COULD BE RAISED IN WEST BENGAL, AND US NUCLEAR AND ARMS POLICIES COULD BE RAISED BY THE OPPOSITION.

END SUMMARY.

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1. AS EMBASSY NOTED LAST WEEK IN NEW DELHI 906, MRS. GANDHI'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF A "SNAP POLL" CAUGHT BOTH OPPOSITION AND HER OWN PARTYMEN OFF GUARD. THEY ARE ONLY NOW JUST BEGINNING TO SORT OUT THEIR ELECTION PLANS AND STRATEGY. A MAJOR FACTOR IN CONGRESS AND OPPOSITION CONTESTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WILL BE THE IDENTITY OF INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATES ON BOTH SIDES. STATE PRADESH CONGRESS COMMITTEES (PCCS) HAVE BEEN ASKED TO SUBMIT THEIR LISTS OF CANDIDATES TO THE CONGRESS HIGH COMMAND BY JANUARY 28. SOME WILL DO THIS THROUGH POLITICAL SCREENING AT STATE LEVELS; OTHER STATES HAVE ASKED NEW DELHI TO DO THE SELECTION PROCESS AB INITIO (E.G. ORISSA, HARYANA, AND JAMMU/KASHMIR). THE CONGRESS CENTRAL ELECTION COMMITTEE WILL MEET FEB. 2 TO BEGIN REVIEWING THE SUGGESTED CANDIDATE LISTS AND WILL COMPLETE ITS WORK BY FEB. 12. THE NEWLY ESTABLISHED JANATA PARTY HAS SET UP A 27-MAN STEERING COMMITTEE TO RUN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN BUT HAS NOT ANNOUNCED WHEN ITS CANDIDATE LISTS WILL BE FORMALIZED. IT EXPECTS TO CONTEST UP TO 90 PERCENT OF THE 542 CONSTITUENCIES. THIS MAY BE OPTIMISTIC.

NEITHER CONGRESS NOR THE OPPOSITION HAS FORMALIZED ITS
ELECTION MANIFESTO THUS FAR.

2. THE GENERAL ISSUES AROUND WHICH THE ELECTION WILL BE
CONTESTED ARE FAIRLY CLEAR: CONGRESS WILL RECALL THE
ATMOSPHERE OF TRANQUILITY, CALM, AND STABILITY WHICH HAS
PREVAILED SINCE THE EMERGENCY WAS PROMULGATED AND FOCUS
ATTENTION ON THE CONDUCT OF THE OPPOSITION PRIOR TO THE
EMERGENCY. IT WILL EMPHASIZE THE GOOD HARVESTS, ECONOMIC
BUOYANCY OVER THE LAST YEAR (EVEN THOUGH THIS HAS SAGGED
SOMEWHAT IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS, SEE NEW DELHI 970), LABOR
PEACE, THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE 25 POINT PROGRAM (AS IT HAS
NOW BEEN REDUBBED), AND ABOVE ALL THE IMAGE OF THE PRIME
MINISTER.

3. THE OPPOSITION WILL LODGE CHARGES AGAINST CONGRESS FOR
THREATS TO DEMOCRACY AND CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES SINCE
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THE EMERGENCY, CALL FOR REPEAL OF MOST OF THE EMERGENCY
LEGISLATION AND CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS AND AN END TO THE
EMERGENCY ITSELF, AND CHALLENGE THE CONGRESS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 NEW DELHI 1254

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AND THE PRIME MINISTER ON FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO ELECTION PROMISES MADE IN THE 1971 ELECTION. AN IMPORTANT UNKNOWN IS WHETHER THE OPPOSITION WILL ATTACK THE GROWING ROLE OF SANJAY GANDHI IN INDIAN POLITICS, A THEME WHICH WILL BE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE FOR CONGRESS. WE HAVE SEEN NO INDICATION THAT EITHER CONGRESS OR THE OPPOSITION INTEND TO MAKE FOREIGN POLICY A SERIOUS ELECTION ISSUE BUT WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF VARIOUS EXTERNAL PROBLEMS ARE RAISED AT SOME POINT IN THE CAMPAIGN. PAKISTAN HAS FREQUENTLY BEEN AN ISSUE AMONG THE ELECTORATE IN THE WESTERN BORDER STATES OF RAJASTHAN, HARYANA AND PUNJAB; FARAKKA WATER COULD BE RAISED IN WEST BENGAL; AND US
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NUCLEAR OR ARMS POLICY TOWARD THE REGION OR TOWARD THE INDIAN OCEAN CONCEIVABLY MIGHT BE RAISED BY THE OPPOSITION AT SOME JUNCTURE.

4. UNDERLYING ALL THESE RATIONAL ISSUES, AS IN PREVIOUS INDIAN ELECTIONS, WILL BE COMMUNAL AND CASTE PRESSURES, AND FACTIONAL INTERESTS WITHIN CONGRESS AND AMONG OPPOSITION LEADERS AND GROUPS WHICH WILL DOMINATE MANY LOCAL ELECTORAL CONTESTS. MUSLIMS AND HARIJANS, FOR LONG THE HARD-CORE OF CONGRESS SUPPORT IN MANY PARTS OF THE COUNTRY AND PARTICULARLY IN THE HUGE HINDI-BELT STATES OF UP AND BHAR, ARE REPORTED BY MANY SOURCES TO BE UNHAPPY. FOR THE MUSLIMS, THE KEY ISSUE HAS BEEN THE STERILIZATION CAMPAIGN; FOR THE HARIJANS, THE DISAPPOINTING BENEFITS THEY HAVE SEEN FROM THE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD PLOTS AND SURPLUS LAND AND THE MORATORIUM ON MONEYLENDER DEBTS. BLANCED AGAINST THIS WILL BE MUSLIM AND HARIJAN RELECTANCE TO VOTE FOR CANDIDATES BACKED BY THE JANA SANGH, THE TRADITIONAL UPPER-CAST HINDU PARTY NOW LINKED WITH THE JANATA PARTY. IN RAJASTHAN AND MADHYA PRADESH, OPPOSITION STRENGTH IN THE PAST HAS RALLIED AROUND CANDIDATES SUPPORTED BY FORMER MAHARAJAS. VIRTUALLY ALL OF THESE SINCE THE EMERGENCY HAVE EITHER DROPPED OUT OF POLITICS COMPLETELY, OR AS IN THE CASE OF THE EXTREMELY INFLUENTIAL SCINDIA FAMILY OF GWALIOR, AGREED TO SUPPORT CONGRESS RATHER THAN OPPOSITION CANDIDATES. THE POWERFUL JAT FARMER COMMUNITIES IN HARYANA AND WESTERN UP, THE INFLUENTIAL

SIKH AKALI DAL RELIGIOUS VOTE IN PUNJAB, THE NUMERIOUS
FACTIOUS CASTE GROUPINGS IN BIHAR (CURRENTLY ANNOYED BY
THE ALLEGED FAVORITISM BEING EXTENDED TO BRAHMINS BY THE
CONGRESS CHIEF MINISTER) COMPOUNDED BY THE PERSONAL MAN-
EUVERINGS OF THE 11 EX-CHIEF MINISTERS OF THE STATE
CURRENTLY ACTIVE IN LOCAL POLITICS, RIVAL CHRISTIAN
PARTIES IN KERELA, BRAHMIN-NON-BRAHMIN ANTAGONISMS IN
TAMIL NADU, AND THE HIGHLY PERSONALIST/PROVINCIAL IDEO-
LOGICAL FACTORS IN WEST BENGAL POLITICS ALL PRESENT
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STUMBLING BLOCKS OVER WHICH EITHER CONGRESS OR OPPOSI-
TION CANDIDATES MAY TRIP.

5. IN BROAD TERMS, CONGRESS HAS IMPORTANT AND PERHAPS
CONTROLLING ADVANTAGES IN THE OVERWHELMING FINANCIAL RE-
SOURCES IT CAN COMMAND; ITS IMAGE OF POWER AND PRESTIGE
WHICH RAISES PARALLEL DOUBTS AS TO THE ABILITY OF THE
"OPPOSITION" TO ORHANIZE AND LEND A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE
GOVERNMENT; ITS ACCESS TO FACILITATION FROM THE BUREAU-
CRACY WHICH WILL OFTEN NOT BE AVAILABLE TO THE OPPOSI-
TION; AND THE WIDE RANGE OF LEVERS OF PATRONAGE, PUBLICITY,
AND INTIMIDATION WHICH HAVE BEEN PRESENT IN ALL PREVIOUS
INDIAN ELECTINS BUT ARE PROBABLY MAGNIFIED NOW, EITHER
IN REALITY OR IN THE MINDS OF MANY IN THE ELECTORATE,
AFTER 19 MONTHS OF THE EMERGENCY AND ITS CONTINUATION.
AS DOES ANY GOVERNMENT IN POWER, THE CURRENT CONGRESS
LEADERSHIP CAN CHANGE POLICIES IN WAYS WHICH WILL STRENGTHEN
SUPPORT FOR ITS CANDIDATES ON EITHER A NATIONAL BASIS
(IN ANNOUNCING UNRESTRICTED IMPORTS OF OIL SEEDS WHICH
HAVE PROMPTLEY CAUSED A DROP IN EDIBLE OIL PRICES IN THE
COUNTRY) OR MORE LOCALLY (IN GRANTING A RS 100 BONUS TO
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS WHICH PROBABLY HEPLS CONGRESS CAN-
DIDATES FROM INDUSTRIAL AREAS). MRS GANDHI, WHILE A
SUBJECT FOR VILLIFICATION AMONG MANY INTELLECTUALS AND
EVEN BEYOND, ALMOST CERTAINLY ALSO REMAINS A WIDELY ADMIRER
AND EVEN REVERED FIGURE AMONG MANY WITHIN THE LESS WELL-
EDUCATED POPULATION OF INDIA. HER APPEAL WILL BE AN
IMPORTANT CONGRESS WEAPON, AND INDEED THE RESLTS OF
THE ELECTION WILL BE SEEN AS A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE FOR OR
AGAINST HER.

6. AT THE SAME TIME, THE CONGRESS SUFFERS FROM HAVING
BEEN THE PARTY IN POWER FOR MANY YEARS. IT HAS MADE
MISTAKES, CAN BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR A WIDE RANGE OF
PROBLEMS--GOVERNMENTAL AND NATURAL--WHICH AFFECT INDIVIDUAL
VOTERS, AND MUST DEFEND SOME GENUINELY UNPOPULAR ACTIONS
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TAKEN DURING THE EMERGENCY. IT MAY FACE THE POSSIBLE PHENOMENON OF POPULAR SYMPATHY FOR "MARTYRED" OPPOSITION CANDIDATES OVER THEIR RECENT VACATIONS IN PRISON. MOST PROBLEMATIC IS THE ROLE WHICH WILL BE PLAYED BY THE YOUTH CONGRESS AND THE NEW LEADER OF INDIAN YOUTH, THE PRIME MINISTER'S SONE SANJAY. THE YOUTH CONGRESS (I.E. SANJAY) WILL CLAIM ABOUT 100 SEATS IN THE ELECTION CONTESTS, AND WILL PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THE SELECTION OF 50-100 MORE FROM AMONG OLDER CONGRESSMEN. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION'S MEMBERS AND OF SANJAY RISK INTENSIFYING FACTIONAL UNREST WITHIN CONGRESS AND ANTAGONIZING INFLUENTIAL LOCAL CONGRESS LEADERS IN A NUMBER OF AREAS. NOR IS ITS INFLUENCE AND PRESTIGE AMONG THE LARGE NUMBERS OF YOUNG INDIAN VOTERS WHO WILL GO TO THE POLLS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 1977 UNRESERVEDLY CLEAR.

7. THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES, AND PARTICULARLY THE JANATA PARTY, ARE THE

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MIRROR IMAGES OF CONGRESS'. THE KEY NON-COMMUNIST
OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE MANAGED TO COLLECT THEMSELVES
INTO A UNIFIED FRONT. IN SOME LOCALITIES THEIR LEADERS ARE
GENUINELY POPULAR FIGURES. THUS, CHARAN SINGH CAN SWEEP UP
LARGE NUMBERS OF JAT VOTES IN U.P., AND IF A LONG-TIME JAT
RIVAL IN HARYANA COULD BE PERSUADED TO JOIN HANDS WITH
CHARAN SINGH RATHER THAN OPPOSE HIM, OPPOSITION PROSPECTS IN
HARYANA COULD ALSO PROSPER. THE DMK, WHILE NOT A MEMBER OF
THE JANATA PARTY GROUPING, IS NEVERTHELESS STILL PROBABLY
THE MOST POWERFUL POLITICAL FORCE IN TAMIL NADU, AND THE PARTY'S
LEADER, KARUNANIDHI, AND HIS SUPPORTERS WILL MAKE SIGNIFI-
CANT CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY GAINS IN THAT STATE VERY
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DIFFICULT. MORARJI DESAI, THE FORMAL CHAIRMAN OF THE JANATA
PARTY, REMAINS INFLUENTIAL IN GUJARAT AS DOES JAYAPRAKASH
NARAYAN (NOT FORMALLY A MEMBER OF THE PARTY BUT A STRONG
SUPPORTER) IN BIHAR.

8. BUT THE OPPOSITION IS DESPERATELY SHORT OF FUNDS AND
OTHER RESOURCES WITH WHICH TO FIGHT THE ELECTION; ITS
ORGANIZATION IS NOT CENTRALIZED BUT FOCUSED AROUND
INDIVIDUAL PARTY STRENGTHS IN DIFFERENT STATES AND DISTRICTS;
THE PARTICIPATION OF THE JANA SANGH RAISES THE PROBLEMS OF
COMMUNAL AND CASTE SUSPICION NOTED EARLIER; THE IDEOLOGICAL
AND PRACTICAL POLICIES OF ITS LEADERS AND ITS RANK-AND-FILE
MEMBERS RANGE AS WIDELY AS DO THOSE OF CONGRESS ITSELF BUT
WITHOUT THE LONG TRADITION OF CONGRESS UNITY AT THE TIME OF
ELECTIONS; AND ITS IMAGE IS OF AN ORGANIZATION OF "OLD MEN"--
AS PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE 70 AND 80-YEAR-OLD KEY FIGURES IN THE
NEW PARTY CLEARLY SHOW. THE OPPOSITION MUST FIGHT ITS
CONTESTS ON THE PLATFORM OF CHANGE AND NEW POLICIES IN A
COUNTRY WHERE STABILITY AND POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONSERVATISM
HAVE DEEP APPEAL, AND WHERE THE VITALITY OF ISSUES OF
CONSTITUTIONALISM, LIBERTY, AND AUTHORITARIANISM WHICH ARE
POSED BY THE EVENTS OF THE LAST 19 MONTHS ARE GENUINELY
UNKNOWN FACTORS IN THE MINDS OF THE MASSES OF VOTERS.

9. IN THE 1971 ELECTIONS ALL THE OPPOSITION PARTIES NOW
GROUPED INTO THE NEW JANATA PARTY WON LESS THAN 25 PERCENT
OF THE POPULAR VOTES AND 10 PERCENT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY
SEATS. IN THE LAST FOUR ELECTIONS, INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES
AND REPRESENTATIVES OF TINY, LOCAL PARTIES HAVE CONSISTENTLY
POLLED ABOUT 25 PERCENT OF THE VOTES. THE OPPOSITION'S
PROSPECTS WILL DEPEND UPON ITS OWN UNITY, AND THE NUMBER OF
VOTES IT CAN WEAN AWAY FROM CONGRESS ITSELF, AND FROM THIS

STEADY INDEPENDENT VOTE.

10. THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AT THIS TIME SEEM UNLIKELY TO
BE A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN THESE ELECTIONS EXCEPT POSSIBLY
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IN WEST BENGAL AND KERALA. IN KERALA THERE IS AN EXISTING
COALITION IN WHICH THE CPI AND CONGRESS PARTICIPATE; THIS
WILL PROBABLY BE PERMITTED TO CONTINUE BY THE PRIME MINISTER
DESPITE HER RECENT PUBLIC ATTACKS ON THE COMMUNISTS. IN
WEST BENGAL THE STATE PCC APPARENTLY WANTS TO RENEW THE
ELECTORAL ALLIANCE WITH THE CPI WHICH WAS IN EFFECT IN THE
1971 ELECTIONS. THIS FACTOR IN RETROSPECT WAS PROBABLY
BEHIND THE ILL-FATED EFFORT OF SANJAY AND THE YOUTH CONGRESS
TO DEPOSE THE CURRENT CHIEF MINISTER AND HIS SUPPORTERS IN
THE STATE IN DECEMBER. THE ISSUE NOW IS NOT WHETHER
COOPERATION WITH THE CPI IS REALLY NECESSARY FOR CONGRESS
TO WIN IN WEST BENGAL -- IT ALMOST SURELY IS NOT -- BUT
WHETHER THE LOCAL CONGRESS LEADERS ARE ABLE TO IMPOSE THEIR
WILL ON THE CENTER TO HAVE SUCH ELECTORAL COOPERATION.
SIMILAR HINTS THAT CONGRESS-CPI COOPERATION MIGHT BE RESUMED
IN BIHAR WERE SWIFTLY SNUFFED BY A BIHAR PCC MESSAGE THIS
WEEK TO THE PRIME MINISTER ASKING THAT THERE BE NO SUCH
COOPERATION. THERE ARE ONLY A TINY SCATTERING OF DISTRICTS
IN OTHER STATES WHERE EITHER COMMUNIST PARTY WILL WIELD
DETERMINING INFLUENCE ON ELECTION RESULTS OR BE ABLE TO ELECT
ITS CANDIDATES, AND ONE OF THE FEW SURE RESULTS OF THIS
ELECTION WILL BE SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED COMMUNIST REPRESENTA-
TION IN THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT.

11. THE ISSUES AND FACTORS DESCRIBED ABOVE, RATHER THAN
BLATANT DISHONESTY OR "RIGGING", ARE LIKELY TO BE THE ONES
WHICH AFFECT THE WAY THE ELECTION TURNS OUT, ALTHOUGH AS
EMBASSY ISLAMABAD ALSO NOTES IN ITS 884 ON THE PAKISTANI
ELECTION, SUCH CHARGES ARE IN ANY EVENT LIKELY TO BE MADE
BY THE OPPOSITION
AFTER THE ELECTION. THERE ARE THE PRESSURES
WHICH ARE DIFFICULT TO MEASURE: HOW FREE EDITORS FEEL TO
PUBLISH THE VIEWS OF THE OPPOSITION, HOW FREE SUPPORTERS OF
THE OPPOSITION FEEL IN ACTIVELY WORKING FOR THEIR CANDIDATES,
HOW THE CONTINUATION OF THE EMERGENCY AFFECTS THE ORDINARY
VOTER IN DECIDING HOW TO CAST HIS VOTE, AND HOW FREE THE
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CANDIDATES AND PARTIES THEMSELVES FEEL TO ATTACK THE PRIME
MINISTER AND HER SON. THE JANA SANGH THIS WEEK RAISED THE

POSSIBILITY THAT IT MAY ULTIMATELY DECIDE TO OPT OUT OF THE
ELECTION ALTOGETHER IF ITS CADRES ARE NOT FREED, ITS SISTER
ORGANIZATION THE RSS IS NOT TAKEN OFF THE BANNED LIST,
AND ITS PUBLICATIONS ARE NOT ALLOWED TO RESUME OPERATION.
THIS OPTION IS ONE WHICH OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE JANATA
PARTY WILL HAVE BEFORE THEM THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN. IF
THEY BECOME CONVINCED THEY CANNOT WIN, CANNOT EVEN DO WELL,
AND HAVE NO RESOURCES WITH WHICH TO CONTEST, THEY MAY YET
SEEK AT LEAST TO DENY MRS. GANDHI AS MUCH OF THE HONOR AND
DIGNITY OF ELECTORAL VICTORY AS THEY CAN BY REFUSING TO
FIGHT.

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